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CHARLES LANGLADE—FIRST SETTLER OF WISCONSIN

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In the regiment of Carignan-Salières and the company of Loubias which followed the flag of France across the sea in the year 1665, was Pierre Mouet, sieur de Moras, a young man who bore the rank of ensign. This young man, who founded in New France the family from which sprang the first settler of Wisconsin, was the son of Bertrand Mouet, sieur de Moras, and he was born at Castelsarrasin, Basse Guienne, about the year 1639. From Castelsarrasin also came La Motte-Cadillac, the founder of Detroit. A few years after his arrival in Canada, Pierre Mouet went to live in the Seignory of Nicolet, a forest domain lying on the south bank of the St. Lawrence, at the outlet of Lake St. Pierre. This Seignory, which was given by the King to Arnold Loubias, the captain of Mouet's company, took its name from that Jean Nicolet who visited Wisconsin in 1634. It passed to Michael Cresse, upon the return of Loubias to France, and the young soldier from Castelsarrasin, who in 1668 had married Marie Teupin, a native of Canada, went to live in the wilderness of Nicolet, with other families whom Cresse induced to settle there.

In this community of pioneers Pierre Mouet, who was a worthy man, spent the remainder of his life, and reared a family of five sons and two daughters. He died in 1693. The eldest son, Pierre, was born in 1669, and he called himself, like his father, Mouet de Moras, but his descendants, who are numerous in the County of Nicolet and other parts of the Province of Quebec, have for many years been known simply by the name of Moras. As a further reminder of the early settlement of the family in this neighborhood, an island at the mouth of the Nicolet river is called Moras. It was customary in New France, at this period, for every family that laid claim to gentle blood, or was particularly prominent, to bestow new names upon all its sons except the eldest, who took his father's name. Sometimes the name chosen was that of a locality in New France or in old France, and sometimes it was an ancestral one. In accordance with this custom, Augustin, a son of Pierre Mouet the younger and grandson of the soldier immigrant, assumed the name of Langlade, which is not uncommon in the records of that time and which a son of Augustin was to make famous in the annals of colonial warfare.

The name Langlade is not unknown to French history. In the *Nouvelle Biographie Generale*, edited by D'Hoeffer (Paris, 1862), there is an account of Jacques de Langlade, Baron de Saumierès, who was born in 1620 and died in 1680. He is referred to in Sismondi's *History of France*. The Wisconsin pioneer is often referred to as "De Langlade," but he called himself simply "Charles Langlade"; at least such is his signature in the marriage register of Mackinac.

In his youth Augustin Langlade became a fur trader, and about formed to trade with the Western tribes,¹ he went to Mackinac, then the year 1727, when an organization called the Sioux Company was called Michillimackinac. There he married an Indian woman of the Ottawa tribe, Domitilde, widow of Daniel Villeneuve and sister of Nissowaquet, the most influential chief of the Ottawas. Of this marriage a son was born in May, 1729, and on the 9th of that month Charles Michel Langlade was baptized. The young half-breed grew up a child of the forest, though he had some advantages incident to his residence at so important a post as Mackinac. The Jesuit missionaries stationed there taught him, and he appears to have acquired a better fund of general information than was common to the children of Frenchmen born in these wilds, but his education did not advance far enough to prevent him from being essentially an illiterate man.² But if his education was in some respects neglected, Langlade had the best training possible to fit him for the savage warfare of the woods; the rifle, the scalping knife and the tomahawk were familiar to him from earliest childhood, and it is related that while yet a child of tender years, he was taken with a war party. His uncle, Nissowaquet (or La Fourche), so the tale runs, had a dream in which it was revealed to him that a certain hostile band, which had twice offered successful resistance to the Ottawa warriors, could be conquered only by taking young Langlade with the attacking party. Accordingly the lad accompanied the expedition and the Ottawas, inspired by a superstitious belief in the influence of his presence, put the enemy to rout. It is certain that even in his boyhood Langlade had a most remarkable power over the Ottawas, and whether this was due to savage superstition or to his natural force and ability as a leader, it was a circumstance that stood him in good stead as long as he lived.

Augustin and Charles Langlade visited Green Bay, then called Bay de Puants, about the year 1745.³ Their trips to Green Bay were

1. Les Canadiens de L'Ouest. Acknowledgement is due to Benjamin Sulte, the Canadian historian, for information regarding Langlade's family.

2. Tasse says: "A successor to Père Marquette, probably Father Jaunay, gave him lessons and commenced his education."

3. Frederick J. Turner, Ph. D., says in his monograph on "The Character and Influence of the Indian Trade in Wisconsin" that "About the middle of the century, Augustin de Langlade had made Green Bay his trading post. After Pontiac's war, Charles de Langlade made the place his permanent residence and a little settlement grew up."

frequent after that, and they put themselves on a friendly footing with the Menominees and other tribes, made arrangements to receive and store furs, and laid claim to a large tract of land on the Fox River.

It was a lonely and savage shore to which the father and son came. The broad river flowed through the forest primeval, and the Indian was still so completely the master of the country that the trader, paddling on his way, found himself hailed at Little Butte des Morts and compelled to pay tribute to the Outagamies, who, like certain barons of old, claimed toll from all who passed their way. On the east bank of the Fox, so close to the water that the river splashed about the door, and laden canoes bumped against the threshold,⁴ the Langlades built the first house in the settlement that came to be called Green Bay. A few settlers, mostly half-breeds, gathered about the little trading post, but the growth of the hamlet was slow, and in 1785 there were at Green Bay not more than seven white families, who, with their servants, numbered some fifty-six souls.⁵

After his arrival at Green Bay, young Langlade did not have to wait long for an opportunity to prove his prowess as a fighting man. On the west bank of the Fox, half a league from the mouth of that river, stood Fort St. Francis, where Charlevoix and Montigny had gone in 1721, and around whose oak stockade the turbulent Fox tribe had waged bloody conflict for many years. In 1746 the commandant at Fort St. Francis was Captain de Villiers. One night after a supper at which the wine flowed freely, de Villiers went across the river to a council of the Sacs and demanded possession of a boy of the Fox tribe, to whom the Sacs had given refuge. The chiefs discussed the proposition with their usual gravity and deliberation, and becoming impatient, the high-spirited Frenchman fired his gun and killed three members of the council. De Villiers paid for this brutal act with his life, for the next moment an Indian shot him through the heart. It was considered necessary to avenge the white man's death, and Charles Langlade led an attack upon the Sacs, whose village was destroyed and the Indians themselves dispersed. As a result of this and lesser affrays, the reputation and influence of Langlade increased, and he became known as a shrewd and bold leader.

For some years the Langlades continued to journey to and fro between Mackinac and Green Bay. The trade in which they were engaged increased, but its richest rewards went to others, more cunning and less honest than they. It was the time of Bigot, the intendant, and of Cadet, the commissary general, and even on such far-away posts as Green Bay, the official brigands who dwelt at Montreal and Quebec laid a corrupting hand. Within ten years after the Langlades' first

4. "Historic Green Bay," page 95.

5. Tasse Memoir.

visit, the trade of this post had grown to such an extent that for the purposes of government trade alone, \$18,000⁶ worth of supplies, mainly trinkets to gratify the Indian love of finery, were annually required. The government dealt with the Indians through the officers of the fort, and Bougainville, Montcalm's brave and capable aide-de-camp, declared that of all the goods sent as gifts from the King to the Indians, two-thirds were stolen and the rest sold. "At the post of Green Bay," says Parkman, "the partisan officer Marin, and Rigaud, the Governor's brother, made in a short time a profit of three hundred and twelve thousand francs." While all this plundering was going on about them, the Langlades succeeded only moderately, but they stood well with the representatives of the government, and on the whole appear to have fared better than most of the traders who pursued fortune into these wilds. Often their sojourn at Green Bay was attended with great danger, and Charles sometimes had to dispose of a troublesome Indian by offering to adjust their differences by a resort to personal combat.

Events were presently to call the young trader to a wider field of action. The French noted with apprehension that the English were gaining a firm foothold in the valley of the Ohio. In 1749 Céloron de Bienville had gone through that region, nailing upon trees tin plates, on which the arms of France were stamped, and burying in the earth plates of lead, inscribed with a declaration of the French King's claim upon the territory. These ceremonies, and negotiations with the Indians, alike proving ineffectual against the English, the harrying of the trading posts established by the intruders was begun. On the Miami River, at the mouth of a small stream now called Loraine Creek, was a village of the Miami Indians, where several English traders were resident. The chief of this village was called by the English Old Britain, in token of his firm friendship for them; but to the French he was known as the Demoiselle. The village itself the French called Pique Town, a name which, on the tongues of Englishmen, speedily became Pickawillany.

This place, with its English traders and its Indians friendly to the enemies of France, was a thorn in the flesh of the Canadians. La Jonquière, who had lately come to govern Canada, ordered Céloron de Bienville to attack Pickawillany, but the order was not obeyed and La Jonquière fretted himself to death and was succeeded by Baron de Longueil before a move was made in the Ohio country. The new Governor gave peremptory orders to break up the troublesome nest of traders on the Miami, and the man to do the work was found in Charles Langlade. Just what brought Langlade to the notice of those who were directing French affairs is not known, but no doubt his

6. "Historic Green Bay," page 98.

strong and growing influence over the Ottawas and Ojibways had made him more or less known at all the French posts along the lakes; moreover, the Indians among whom he lived constituted the most available force for the purpose.⁷

In June, two hundred and fifty Ottawa and Ojibway warriors left Mackinac, with Langlade in command; making a stop at Detroit, the band pressed on, skirting the western shore of Lake Erie and finally reaching the mouth of the Miami, up which the canoes swarmed. From Raymond's fort Langlade led his force—a greased and painted rabble, in the words of Parkman—through the forest surrounding Pickawillany. The attacking party came upon the village at about 9 o'clock, on the morning of June 21. The Demoiselle was not only surprised, but he was in no condition to make a vigorous defense, for the reason that most of his braves were absent on their summer hunt. In the fight that followed the Demoiselle and thirteen Miamis were killed. Of the eight white men in the place, five shut themselves in their warehouse and held out for some hours, when they surrendered. The others were caught by Langlade's Indians outside the gate of the palisade. The post was plundered with a completeness that gave keen delight to the French authorities, and that there might be no doubt of the utter overthrow of the Demoiselle, Langlade's warriors boiled and ate that doughty chieftain. "Seventy years of missionaries," Parkman observes, "had not weaned them from cannibalism."

This easy victory not only struck a severe blow at English trade in the Ohio country, but it gave Langlade great prestige, both among the Indians and with the colonial administration. Duquesne, the new governor, recommended him for a pension of two hundred francs and Langlade returned to Mackinac covered with glory.⁸

For nearly three years after his exploit in the Ohio country, Langlade confined himself to peaceful pursuits, dividing his time between Mackinac and Green Bay. Basking in the favor of the government, respected and obeyed by the tribes of the lake country, he prospered in his affairs, and the little trading post at Green Bay grew in importance. It was during this period, on August 12, 1754, that Langlade married Charlotte Ambroisine Bourassa, a young woman of pure French blood. The marriage was celebrated at Mackinac⁹ and Father Le Franc, a Jesuit missionary, performed the ceremony. Madame

7. According to the Mackinac register, Langlade was enrolled as a cadet in the army at least as early as 1750.

8. In Parkman's account of the affair at Pickawillany, Duquesne is quoted as saying of Langlade: "As he is not in the King's service, and has married a squaw, I will ask for him only a pension of 250 francs, which will flatter him infinitely." Montcalm and Wolfe, Vol. I., page 85.

9. The Grignon Memoir says Montreal, but the Mackinac records contain the registry of the marriage.

Langlade appears to have been her husband's superior in refinement and education. She was the daughter of René Bourassa, a retired voyageur, and tradition credits her with uncommon graces of person and amiability of character.¹⁰ The same record that gives us the date of Langlade's marriage bears witness to the existence of Indian slavery at that time, for it appears that in November, 1754, Father Le Franc united in marriage Charles, slave of Sieur Bourassa, and Marie, slave of Charles Langlade.

Langlade's honeymoon was hardly over when he was again summoned to raise the tribes and take the war-path against the English. The conflict which had begun in attacks on remote trading posts had now become general, and Braddock was on his way with a force of British regulars to attack Fort Duquesne, which had been built by the French where the Allegheny and the Monongahela unite to form the Ohio River. Langlade assembled a much larger force than the one which he had led against the Demoiselle three years before, and again the flotilla of canoes came down the lakes, manned by a motley crew, mostly Pottawattomies, Ottawas and Ojibways.

Among the men who served in this expedition were several whose names are particularly associated with Wisconsin history, including Gautier de Verville, Amable de Gère and Machar, the last named a man from whom many residents of this state trace their descent.¹¹ During the first week of July, 1755, Langlade and his band arrived at Fort Duquesne, and they encamped without the walls of the fort, where other Indians from every part of Canada were gathered. In all eight hundred warriors were there, with scalping knife and tomahawk, to assist in the defense of the place. Langlade's braves are described by Parkman as "unmitigated heathen" and in the same category the historian places Pontiac, who is said to have been there.¹² Augustin Grignon, who had the story of the fight from the lips of Langlade, his grandfather, expressed the belief that Pontiac was in the party led by the conqueror of Pickawillany, but this is mere conjecture.

On the 8th of July scouts brought word to the fort that Braddock was not more than eighteen miles distant; on the morning of the 9th, gunpowder and bullets were served without stint to the Indians, and James Smith, a prisoner, looking down from the ramparts of the fort,

10. Parkman refers with some contempt, in his account of the fight at Pickawillany, to Langlade's having married a squaw; again in describing the council of Indians called by Montcalm at Fort William Henry (Montcalm and Wolfe, V. I. I., page 486), the historian speaks of Langlade as having "left his squaw wife at M'caillmackinae to join the war." As a matter of fact there is no proof that Langlade was ever married to a squaw. He had a natural son by an Ottawa woman who lived at Mackinac, and this son bore his name.

11. Grignon's Recollections, Vol. III., Wis. Hist. Colls.

12. Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe, Vol. I., page 29.

saw the painted savages excitedly preparing for battle.¹³ According to the official records, the party sent out to intercept the British consisted of six hundred and thirty-seven Indians, thirty-six French officers and cadets, seventy-two regular soldiers and one hundred and forty-six Canadians. The departure from Fort Duquesne was made at 9 o'clock in the morning and the accounts of what followed vary so essentially, with respect to the part Langlade bore in the action, that it is best to give them some consideration before going on with the story of the attack. Augustin Grignon says that Beaujeu, the French officer in command, hesitated to attack the English; that Langlade went to him and represented that no time should be lost, but that the attack should at once begin; that Beaujeu made no reply, whereupon Langlade called the chiefs together and caused them to demand orders to fight, after all of which Beaujeu reluctantly gave the command to attack.¹⁴

Another account says that the Indians and not Beaujeu were reluctant to fight. The plan to ambuscade the English was adopted on the day before the battle, and Parkman says that the suggestion seems to have been inspired by Beaujeu, though another officer, Dumas, claimed to have originated it.¹⁵ It is further said that the Indians at first utterly refused to march against Braddock and that it was with great difficulty that Beaujeu induced them to follow him. Parkman, whose authority was the relation of Godefroy, in Shea's "*Bataille du Malangueule*," says that the Indians proved refractory and that three hundred of them left him and did not rejoin the attacking party until the English had crossed the river.

The undisputed fact is that the French and Indians were three hours and a half in making a march of seven miles, which is sufficient proof that some extraordinary circumstance delayed their progress. In the meantime, Braddock's army had crossed the Monongahela. The soldiers had halted in the shade to eat their dinner and rest, and the Indians, peering between the trees, could see the red-coated officers with napkins pinned upon their breasts. Whatever may have been Beaujeu's hesitancy about engaging Braddock, he did not need the stimulus of Langlade or any one else when the moment for action arrived. The vanguard of the British suddenly saw a strange figure burst out upon the path from the dark forest; it was Beaujeu, in Indian hunting dress, and he halted and waved his hat as a signal.¹⁶ The Indians and French fired one volley and then posted themselves behind trees and in the dark recesses of the ravines, whence they poured out a fire that demoralized Braddock's men. Beaujeu was

13. Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, Vol. I., page 200.

14. *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, Vol. VII.

15. Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, Vol. I., page 211.

16. *Kingford's History of Canada*, Vol. III., page 479.

killed early in the fight. Langlade told his grandson that it was his first care, after the rout of the English, to search the stores found in Braddock's camp and pour all the liquor upon the ground. This filled the Indians with sorrow, which they endeavored to assuage by plundering the dead. There was such rivalry for possession of the gay uniforms and other spoil, that two of Langlade's young men, La Choisie and Rocheblave, contended bitterly for the purse and trappings of an officer whose body each claimed to have discovered first; La Choisie took the purse, but next morning he was found murdered and his gold was gone.

Langlade has often been referred to as the man who achieved the defeat of Braddock, as though there was no doubt whatever of his having brought about the attack on the British troops. In point of fact, the evidence is very far from warranting any such declaration. We have it upon the authority of the other French officers who were at Fort Duquesne, that when Beaujeu left the fort it was in accordance with a plan, agreed upon the night before, to contest Braddock's passage of the Monongahela. If, as the narrative of Grignon (who gives Langlade's account of the affair) would lead us to believe, the Indians were consumed with a desire to engage the soldiers of Braddock, and had to overcome the fears of Beaujeu, it seems very curious that none of the warriors were so far carried away by their zeal as to find out how near the British were. Braddock's army had forded the Monongahela in the bright sunshine of a summer morning. Supposing that the enemy would have scouts posted to observe his movements, the English commander resolved that his men should cross the stream in the most imposing array possible. Accordingly his force marched out from the forest and into the river, with all the pomp of a dress parade, but it does not appear that any Indian or Frenchman viewed this picturesque spectacle; indeed, there is evidence that the Indians prevented Beaujeu from arriving in time to give battle at the ford. Many writers have referred to the attack on Braddock as an ambuscade, but Parkman points out that it was nothing of the sort. It may be doubted whether the English were more surprised than the French and Indians, when the encounter came. It is as well established as any fact in connection with Braddock's defeat, that the man who led the attacking party, and who there is every reason to suppose was Beaujeu, came suddenly upon the English, and that his followers, trooping along in a body behind him, fired a volley before they took the precaution of placing trees between themselves and the British guns. That Beaujeu was killed in the thick of the fight, all accounts agree, and the statement in Grignon's recollections that Langlade and his Indians had to force the issue of battle is practically unsupported. Finally, the wretched behavior of the British regulars contributed quite as much to the defeat of Braddock as any other circumstance;

they shot one another, they shot their officers, they shot everybody but the enemy, and their rout was not the result of any French or Indian strategy. There were many in England who could not contain their indignation when they heard how miserably the battle was fought, and the condemnation of the troops was general. Another thing to be borne in mind is the fact that Indians have always shown an extreme reluctance to meet regular soldiers under any conditions which do not provide the savage with a moderate assurance of his own personal safety, while at the same time affording him an opportunity to shoot from ambush, or otherwise take his foe by surprise. On this occasion the Indians under Langlade were marching against a formidable force, which not only exceeded them in numbers, but was armed and equipped with a completeness never before seen in any military expedition which had penetrated that wilderness. The Indians were well aware of this, and from all that we know about Indian character and methods of warfare, and from all the evidence adducible on the point, we are justified in declining to believe that it was the impetuous valor of his savage allies which hurried Beaujeu on to battle. But whether Langlade did or did not take the initiative in the attack on Braddock, it is certain that his part in that memorable battle, which is called the most important ever won by Indians, was a leading one. That the French reports give him scant credit is no reflection upon his services, for the regular officers were seldom generous in their recognition of the colonial troops. It is beyond question that in his lifetime, and immediately after the fight, Langlade was credited with having accomplished Braddock's overthrow.¹⁷

When the news of the battle reached England, Colonel James Wolfe was in garrison at Winchester with his regiment, and the tidings moved him to wrath. "The cowardice of the men," he wrote, "exceeded the ignorance of the chief."¹⁸ He went on to declare that he had a mean opinion of the British infantry and said that they often killed their officers and one another in their confusion. Interest is lent to this observation by the fact that, a few years later, troops under the command of James Wolfe were to fare badly at the hands of Langlade, and to escape narrowly a fate similar to that of Braddock's men: A chronicle of that time says: "The European troops whose cowardice has thus injured their country are the same that ran away so shamefully at Preston-Pans."¹⁹ A list published in *The Boston Gazette* soon after the event gives Braddock's loss as five hundred

17. Burgoyne, DePeyster and Anbury all write of Langlade as the man who defeated Braddock.

18. A. G. Bradley, *Life of Wolfe*.

19. *Gentleman's Magazine*, August, 1755.

and eight killed and four hundred and seventy-four wounded, a greater number than the whole body of French and Indians.

Langlade returned to Michillimackinac after the repulse of the English, and three months later, in October, 1755, Captain Herbin, commandant at the post of Michillimackinac, ordered him to take command of the Grand River district in Michigan, to keep the Kalamazoo River open to traders and to exercise general supervision over Indian affairs.

This employment appears to have occupied Langlade for some months, and on the 9th of August in the following year he was ordered by Dumas, who commanded on the Ohio, to set out at the head of a detachment of French and Indians and strike Fort Cumberland. This expedition was mainly to obtain information of the enemy's movements, and nothing noteworthy is recorded concerning it.

A new leader had come to Canada from France, and early in the year 1757 Langlade was gathering his Indians about him at Michillimackinac, preparatory to joining Montcalm. He formed a large war party,²⁰ and proceeded to Montreal, where a council was held. From Montreal Langlade went to Lake George to take part in the attack on Fort William Henry. It was the Ottawas, under Langlade's leadership,²¹ who conceived the idea of attacking the English barges on Lake George, an enterprise that was completely successful, twenty-two barges being either captured or sunk, one hundred and fifty-one prisoners taken, and a large number killed. Langlade was present at the capture of Fort William Henry, and Tasse (who speaks of the place as Fort George) remarks that "Unhappily the Indians by some excesses detracted from the value of the service which they had rendered to the French army." In making this statement the Canadian historian contains himself strictly within the bounds of truth. The "excesses" to which he refers consisted of the butchery of some fifty English prisoners, seventeen of whom were wounded men. According to the affidavit of Miles Whitworth, a regimental surgeon, and the statements of Jonathan Carver and other eye witnesses, French officers beheld these atrocities without apparent concern. Miles Whitworth expressly mentions Le Corne (St. Luc), Langlade's friend and associate, as one of those who, though present, did not offer to protect the wounded prisoners from the tomahawks of the Indians.

At the close of this campaign Vaudreuil, governor of the colony, rewarded Langlade for his services by appointing him second officer at Michillimackinac, with a salary of a thousand francs per annum and the rank of lieutenant. This was in September, 1757, and Langlade

20. The Tasse Memoir says there were several hundred Indians in this force, the Ottawas alone numbering three hundred and thirty-seven.

21. Letters of Montcalm, quoted by Tasse.

returned at once to Michillimackinac, where he remained until the following summer.

His next expedition took him to Fort Duquesne again, but we have no particular account of his services there. When M. de Ligneris, the commandant, destroyed the fort upon the approach of the English under General Forbes, the French garrison had been reduced to two hundred men, because of lack of supplies, so it is not likely that Langlade and his Indians were present on that occasion.

Early in the summer of 1759 Langlade went to Quebec, whither he is said to have led two hundred Indians from Michillimackinac.²² He arrived at Montreal on June 23, and later joined the forces under Montcalm. We are told that the Indians who served at Quebec included Sacs, Menominees, Chippewas and Foxes, so the Wisconsin tribes were well represented.

One of the first movements made by Wolfe, after Quebec was fairly invested, was an attempt to strike the French in flank or rear, by landing troops below the Montmorenci and crossing that stream some distance above the falls. On the 9th of July five battalions, numbering three thousand men, or a third of Wolfe's whole army, executed this movement with success, to the point of landing below the cataract and climbing the heights, where they began to throw up entrenchments.

Meanwhile Langlade, with four hundred Indians under his command, forded the Montmorenci, discovered the British troops and sent word to Lieutenant Repentigny that this part of Wolfe's army might be destroyed if he would at once come to the attack with his Canadian troops. Two hours were wasted in waiting for Vaudreuil to order Levis to order Repentigny to fight, and the opportunity was lost. In the meantime, however, Langlade's Indians, impatient of delay, attacked a body of rangers sent out by the English, and inflicted severe loss upon them. The rangers were driven back upon the battalions under Generals Townshend and Murray, and when Langlade's braves re-crossed the ford they took thirty-six scalps with them.

The record of this affair of Montmorenci goes farther to prove Langlade's military discernment than almost any other evidence we possess. Had the opportunity which he pointed out to his superiors been promptly acted upon, it is not unlikely that the force under Townshend and Murray would have been routed, if not annihilated, and Wolfe could never have hoped to take Quebec with his army so weakened. Parkman says: "If Repentigny had advanced and Levis had followed with his main body, the consequence to the English might have been serious."²³ In a "*Dialogue in Hades between the Marquis de Montcalm and General Wolfe*," which is attributed to Chev-

22. Canadian Memoir, quoted by Tasse.

23. Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe.

alier de Johnstone, the Scotch Jacobite officer who served under Montcalm, there is a reference to Langlade's action on this occasion. The author of this dialogue (which is similar in style to Lord Lyttelton's *Dialogues of the Dead*) was evidently of the opinion that Wolfe risked the loss of his whole army by the movement. A report in the French Archives says that Langlade's Indians killed or wounded more than one hundred and fifty of the English.

Langlade fought in the battle on the Plains of Abraham, where the fate of Quebec was decided, on September 13, and two of his brothers, who were with him, were killed in that action. After the fall of the city he returned to Michillimackinac, but the following year, 1760, found him in Canada again, a lieutenant's commission signed by King Louis XV. having meanwhile been bestowed upon him as a reward for his services.

His last battle under the French banner is believed to have been that fruitless victory which Levis won in April, 1760, on the field where Montcalm was defeated the year before. In September Langlade was ordered by Vaudreuil to go to Michillimackinac and encourage the Indians in their attachment to the French nation, assuring them that if the colony were surrendered to the English, it could at the utmost remain only a few months in their power. Six days later another dispatch came from Vaudreuil, announcing that he had "decided to capitulate with General Amherst, upon conditions very advantageous for the colonists and particularly for the inhabitants of Michillimackinac."

An English garrison first occupied the fort at Michillimackinac in 1761,²⁴ when Captain George Etherington took command there. In the same year Lieutenant Gorrell, with seventeen men of the 60th or Royal American Regiment, occupied Green Bay. About this time Langlade appears to have had his family at Green Bay, for Grignon mentions that both of the Langlades, Augustin and Charles, journeyed to Michillimackinac, soon after Captain Etherington assumed command there, and took the oath of allegiance. Charles still continued in the office of superintendent of Indian affairs at Green Bay, a post which he had held under the French, and was also made commander of the militia.

At this time Charles Langlade had by no means severed all ties that bound him to Michillimackinac, for under date of April 13, 1763, Captain Etherington issued an order authorizing the Langlades, father and son, to remove to Green Bay with their families. This permission

24. In 1761 there were about thirty families at Fort Michillimackinac. The fort was on the south side of the strait, where Mackinac City now stands. There was a stockade of cedar logs, built so near the water's edge that when the wind was in the north the waves broke against the fort. On the bastions were mounted two small pieces of brass cannon. Within the stockade were the houses and a church, the character of the buildings being described by Henry as neat and commodious.

Charles, at least, does not seem to have availed himself of, for he was at Michillimackinac when the Indians massacred Etherington's garrison, and we have the statement of Alexander Henry that Madame Langlade and the whole domestic establishment were there also.

Knowledge of the conspiracy of Pontiac having come to Langlade, he warned Captain Etherington, who could not bring himself to believe that the Indians really meditated an attack upon him, and dismissed Langlade with the assurance that the rumors of an uprising were the foolish stories of old women. The result was that on the 4th of June (a letter from Etherington to Gorrell makes the date June 2nd) a party of Ojibways and Sacs, having gained entrance to the fort under pretense of seeking to recover a ball with which they were playing, fell upon the English suddenly and killed Lieutenant Jamet and fifteen others. Etherington, Lieutenant Leslie and eleven men were spared and Langlade, as related in Grignon's Recollections, saved the two officers from torture by boldly releasing them after they had been bound to the stake.

The statement that Major Etherington had warning of the conspiracy against the English is confirmed by Alexander Henry, who says in his *Travels and Adventures in Canada* that "M. Laurent Ducharme distinctly informed Major Etherington that a plan was absolutely conceived for destroying him, his garrison and all the English in the upper country," and though no mention is made of Langlade in this connection by Henry, the evidence all goes to show that Langlade acted in good faith with the English commander, who showed a disinclination to be warned quite equal to that of Braddock. To M. Ducharme, Henry says, Etherington declared that the reports of an intended Indian attack proceeded from evil-disposed persons, and he threatened to send the next who should bring him such information a prisoner to Detroit.

Henry complains of the manner in which Langlade treated him during the massacre. He sought refuge in the house of Langlade, who merely shrugged his shoulders and intimated that he could do nothing for the Englishmen. This cold reception plunged Henry into despair, but a Pawnee woman, a slave of Langlade, secreted him in the garret, and to the kindness of this woman he probably owed the preservation of his life. Later on the Langlades gave him up to the Indians, Madame Langlade fearing that if the savages should learn of the concealment of Henry they would take revenge on her children. Henry also says that later on, when he was carried away a captive by the Indians, Langlade refused to give him a blanket and permitted him to be taken on a journey in a canoe, naked and shivering, because he was unable to give security for the price of the covering which he asked.

It is difficult to escape the conviction that Langlade behaved with

inhumanity on this occasion. Tasse ventures the opinion that Henry's narrative sets forth the circumstances in a manner more unfavorable to Langlade than the facts warrant, but Henry is an authority not to be disposed of so lightly. The probability is that Langlade, who could not at this time have cherished a very warm regard for the English, was indifferent to the fate of the trader.²⁵

In the meantime Lieutenant Gorrell had abandoned the fort at Green Bay. The Indians at Milwaukee were involved in the conspiracy of Pontiac, and at their behest a Menominee chief carried a red wampum belt to Chief Carron at Green Bay, as an invitation to the tribes in that vicinity to join in the attack on the English. Carron, who was a friend of Langlade, refused to join in the scheme of the Milwaukee band, and later he and a party of Menominees gave Lieutenant Gorrell and his men a safe conduct to Michillimackinac.²⁶ In 1763 the Langlades, Augustin and Charles, returned to Green Bay with their families and their residence there was continuous from that time, their homes in Michillimackinac having been definitely given up.

We know very little about Langlade's life at Green Bay during the twelve years following 1763. When the Revolutionary war broke out the British took prompt steps to have him secure the lake tribes in their interest. Captain Arent Schuyler De Peyster, then commanding at Michillimackinac, asked Langlade to take up arms against the rebellious colonists and when the veteran of so many border forays consented, the delighted Captain said it secured to the British all the western tribes.

It appears that the first service on the field rendered by Langlade in the Revolutionary war was in 1777, when he went to Montreal at the head of a band of Indians comprising Sioux, Sacs, Foxes, Menominees, Winnebagoes, Ottawas and Chippewas.²⁷

Langlade was at this time 48 years of age, but we are told that he still possessed all the strength and activity of youth; that his hold upon the Indians was as firm as ever is sufficiently proven by the fact that they were ready to follow him on the long and weary journey to the scene of conflict in the East.

After a grand council in Montreal, attended with much oratory, eating of beef and smoking of tobacco, Langlade and his Indians

25. Parkman says of Henry's travels: "The authenticity of this very interesting book has never been questioned." *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, Vol. I., page 357.

26. In volume VIII. of the Wisconsin Historical collections there is an account of an interview had in 1848 with Sho-no-nee, a Menominee chief, who related a tradition of his tribe to the effect that on one occasion Pontiac visited Milwaukee, assembled the Indians in council and told them that they must join in one common cause and sweep the white man from the country. All of the assembled tribes except the Menominees, so Sho-no-nee had the story from his father, declared themselves ready to take the warpath and follow Pontiac.

27. Grignon's Recollections.

started to join the army of Burgoyne, which had assembled at Crown Point and was then (June, 1777) moving toward the Hudson in accordance with the plan to effect a junction with Howe's army and cut the colonies in two. It was to aid in accomplishing this purpose that the Indians of the lake country had been brought so far under Langlade's leadership. With Langlade went his old friend, Luc de la Corne St. Luc, Chevalier de St. Louis, who in most accounts figures as the leader of the Indians who were with Burgoyne's army. Langlade and St. Luc reported to Burgoyne at Skenesborough, now Whitehall, New York, in the latter part of July. Burgoyne made haste to address his savage allies, in a speech which it is probable they were not able to comprehend after it was translated to them. Indeed, the history of those times exhibits few things more curious than this speech of Burgoyne's, though it impresses one with a belief in the humanity of the British commander. He told the warriors that they must not kill old men, women or children, and "on no account, or pretense, or subtlety, or prevarication" were scalps to be taken from wounded men.²⁸

No doubt Burgoyne had in mind the cruel butchery at Fort William Henry, and it is not likely that this speech pleased Langlade and St. Luc any more than it did the Indians. When an account of this very remarkable address reached England, one result was that Edmund Burke, in the House of Commons, denounced the employment of Langlade's savage followers, in a speech which at once aroused and entertained the British legislators. He ridiculed the language used by Burgoyne, in speaking to barbarians who objected to civilized modes of warfare quite as much as the Englishmen did to scalping and burning. "Suppose," said Burke, "that there was a riot on Tower Hill; what would the keeper of his Majesty's lions do? Would he not fling open the dens of the wild beasts, and then address them thus: 'My gentle lions, my humane bears, my tender-hearted hyenas, go forth: But I exhort you, as you are Christians and members of civilized society, to take care not to hurt any man, woman or child.'"

On the 27th of July occurred the murder of Jane McCrea, a crime which at once horrified and enraged the Americans and which has passed into history as one of the saddest stories of the Revolution. This girl, the daughter of a Scotch clergyman of Paulus Hook, and the affianced bride of David Jones, a lieutenant in Burgoyne's army, was visiting her cousin, Mrs. McNiel, at Fort Edward, when Indians attacked the house and took the two women away captive. There have been various versions of this unhappy affair, but the accounts agree in stating that on the day after the attack on the McNiel house, an

28. Fiske, "American Revolution."

Indian of the party headed by Langlade and St. Luc, and known as the Wyandot Panther, appeared in camp with Miss McCrea's scalp dangling from his belt. The Wyandot claimed that she had been accidentally shot in an encounter between the Indians and some American soldiers, but the belief was strong, in the British army as well as among the colonists, that she had been cruelly murdered. Burgoyne wanted to hang the Wyandot Panther forthwith, and was only dissuaded from doing so by the representations of his officers that the Indian's guilt was not clearly proven and that hasty action might move the other savages to revenge.

Nevertheless, Burgoyne gave orders that henceforth no Indians were to go prowling about the country except in charge of a British officer. Less than a week of this restraint was too much for the disgruntled tribesmen, and one day they suddenly bolted from the camp in a body.

This desertion was not wholly unexpected, for it is related in Anbury's travels that "at the pressing instance of St. Luc, a council was called, when, to the general's great astonishment, those natives he had the direction of declared their intention of returning home, at the same time demanding the general to concur with and assist them." In a speech delivered in the House of Commons, on May 26, 1778, in justification of his course in dealing with the Indians, General Burgoyne said: "Sir, if to restrain them from murder was to discharge them, I take with pride the blame—they were discharged. That circumstance apart, I should say that the Indians, and Mr. St. Luc at the head of them, deserted."

This statement makes it safe to assume, in the absence of any positive authority, that Langlade left the British camp with the Indians. St. Luc visited England, where he freely criticised Burgoyne's treatment of the Indians and was in turn blamed by that unfortunate commander, whose speech in Parliament, quoted from above, was prompted by certain statements made by the partisan leader. The attempt to use savages from the Northwest as auxiliaries to the British army was not only a failure with respect to immediate military results, but was attended with the most miserable consequences to the Royalist cause in general. It may be doubted whether any event in the whole course of the Revolution inspired such horror and resentment as the murder of Miss McCrea, and many Englishmen, like Burke, were quite as indignant as the colonists. There is no record of the part that Langlade played on this occasion, and we can only surmise from the statements of St. Luc what his sentiments were. That officer declared that the Indians left Burgoyne because they had not been shown proper consideration, and because the British general had shown indifference to the fate of those savages who were killed at Bennington. Anbury is quoted by Tasse as saying: "The general

showed great resentment toward the Indians on this occasion (the McCrea murder) and laid restraints upon their disposition to commit other enormities. He was the more exasperated, as they were Indians of the remoter tribes who had been guilty of this offense, and whom he had been taught to look upon as more warlike." Concerning these remarks of the English traveler, it can only be said that the Indians from the interior had never done anything to justify the good opinion with which Burgoyne is said to have regarded them. Whether under the French or the English flag, and whether led by Langlade or one of their own chiefs, their warfare was characterized by a cruelty and ferocity that stamped them as utter barbarians.

Langlade again served the British cause in 1779, when the expedition of George Rogers Clark to the Illinois country filled the English officers in command of the lake posts with alarm. Captain De Peyster, commanding at Michillimackinac, called a council at Arbre Croche (St. Ignace) but the Indians at Milwaukee refused to attend and their obstinacy filled Captain De Peyster with an indignation that found vent in some very bad verses. The worthy captain declared that:

Those renegates of Milwaukee
Must now perforce with you agree;
Sly Siggenaak and Naakewoin
Must with Langlade their forces join.

—[De Peyster's Miscellanies.]

Finally Langlade was sent to Milwaukee, arrayed in full British regimentals, and when he found that persuasion was of no avail, he tried the effect of an ancient Indian ceremony, the dog feast. He placed the heart of a dog, impaled upon a stick, at each of the two doors of a lodge erected for the purpose. Then, chanting a war song, he passed through the lodge and bit a piece from each heart in turn. This was a solemn summons to take up the tomahawk, and when the rites had been performed, the Milwaukee band agreed to follow Langlade to the council. An expedition under the command of Langlade was organized to oppose the advance of Clark, and the Indians had proceeded as far as St. Joseph when word was received that Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton had been obliged to surrender to Clark. The Indians returned to their wigwams, disconsolate because they had taken no scalps.

Some account of this attempt to defeat the plans of Clark is given in a letter written by Sinclair to Haldimand,²⁰ under date of May 29, 1780. Governor Sinclair wrote: "Your excellency was informed by

20. Capt. Patrick Sinclair, appointed lieutenant-governor and Indian superintendent of the Michillimackinac in 1775. Afterward he was a prisoner in New York, of the American revolutionists, but was paroled and went to England. In 1779 he was again sent to take charge of the post of Michillimackinac, where he succeeded De Peyster and remained until 1782. He rose to the rank of lieutenant-general and died in 1820. Sir Frederick Haldimand was governor of Canada from 1778 to 1781.

my letter of February last that a party was to leave this place (Michillimackinac) on the 10th of March to engage the Indians to the westward in an attack on the Spanish and Illinois country. Seven hundred and fifty men, including traders, servants and Indians, proceeded with them down the Mississippi for that purpose on the 2d day of May.

"During the time necessary for assembling the Indians at La Prairie du Chien, detachments were made to watch the river, to intercept crafts coming up with provisions and to seize upon the people working in the lead mines. Both one and the other were effected without any accident.

"Thirty-six Menomies [Menominees], at first intended as an escort, have brought to this place a large armed boat, loaded at Pencour, in which were twelve men and a rebel commissary. From the mines they have brought seventeen Spanish and rebel prisoners and stopped fifty tons of lead ore, and from both they obtained a good supply of provisions. The chiefs Machiquanish and Wabasha have kindled this spirit in the Western tribes.

"Captain Langlade, with a chosen band of Indians and Canadians, will join a party assembled at Chicago, to make his attack by the Illinois river, and another party are sent to watch the plains between the Wabash and the Mississippi (Mississippi)."

Langlade visited Prairie du Chien in 1780, but whether it was as a member of the expedition mentioned by Sinclair is not quite clear. The purpose of his going there was to take charge of a large quantity of furs accumulated at Prairie du Chien by the Indians, which it was thought best, in view of the excitement aroused by the Clark expedition, to remove to Michillimackinac, a task which Langlade accomplished.

The closing years of Langlade's life were spent peacefully at Green Bay. His duties as Indian agent required him to make an occasional journey, and he continued the business which he and his father had established, besides looking after a farm which he owned near Green Bay. The manager of this firm was Pierre Grignon, father of Augustin Grignon, to whose retentive memory we are indebted for most of the facts which we possess regarding Langlade's personality. Seated by his fireside, Langlade used to tell his children and friends that he had been in ninety-nine battles and skirmishes. Annually on the 1st of May, according to a Canadian custom, the settlers raised a flagstaff and saluted it with cheers and noise of guns, in Langlade's honor. The retired partisan lived in comfort, for not only did he have his farm and his fur trade, but the British government gave him an annuity of \$800. He also received a grant of 3,000 acres of land in Canada, and in 1782 Governor Sinclair confirmed him in possession of his lands at Green Bay. Madame Langlade, notwithstanding her long residence among them, never ceased to regard the Indians with fear, and amusing stories are told of the excitement into

which she was thrown almost every time a trading band of natives came to Green Bay.

Charles Langlade had two children, both daughters. One married a settler named Barcellou, and died childless, and the other became the wife of Pierre Grignon. To the end of his life Langlade seems to have had the entire confidence of the British officers, for letters which were written to him by Etherington and De Peyster³⁰ breathe the most friendly sentiments. It is a tradition of Green Bay that Louis Phillippe, afterwards King of France, visited that place during his stay in America, and the gossips of the Bay Settlements used to say that the Prince led out Madame Langlade to dance a minuet, on the occasion of a festal gathering in honor of his visit. "It is creditable to the intelligence and cultivation of the De Langlades and other early settlers of Green Bay," says Grignon, "that a distinguished French nobleman, upon visiting the country many years ago, should express his surprise at hearing from the natives of the country the French language spoken with the same purity and elegance to which he was accustomed in Paris.

His grandson describes Langlade as a man of medium height and powerful frame. His eyes were large and black as jet, and his face round and rather full, but expressive. He was a martial figure when dressed in his British uniform, a part of which, the silver buckle of the sword belt, is treasured among the relics in the Wisconsin State Historical Society's collection. Langlade died at Green Bay in the year 1800 and his wife also died there, eighteen years later.

A county of Wisconsin bears Langlade's name, and he has been called the father of the state. He was not, however, a commonwealth builder, in the sense that the term is applied to the Pilgrim Fathers or the men of a generation that followed Langlade, who organized the forces of civilization in the Western states; he was a woodsman, half trader, half soldier, and a dispassionate review of all the known facts regarding his career inclines one to the belief that some writers have invested his character with too much of the heroic. Part Indian himself, he was singularly favored, both by character and circumstance, in attaining influence over the tribes among which he lived. He had some of the faults of the Indian, and it does not appear that he ever did much to mitigate the horrors of the savage warfare of his time; yet he had abilities and virtues that raised him far above most of his associates. He was honest, at a time when honest men were exceedingly rare in the service of New France, and throughout his career he was esteemed for his integrity by all who had relations with him. He appears to have been a kindly husband and father, and that he was a good neighbor is attested by the high regard in which he was held by the founders of Green Bay.

MONTGOMERY E. McINTOSH.

30. Langlade papers, Wis. Hist. Colls., Vol VIII.





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- No. 1. Nicholas Perrot; a Study in Wisconsin History. By Gardner P. Stickney, Milwaukee, 1895. 16 pp., paper; 8vo.
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